BULLETIN

OF THE

American Schools of Oriental Research

JERUSALEM BAGHDAD

NUMBER 146 APRIL, 1957

Published Quarterly (February, April, October, December)
by the American Schools of Oriental Research. Editor W. F. Albright, Gilman Hall 118, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Md. Subscription price $2.00 a year, payable to the American Schools of Oriental Research, Drawer 93A, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.

Entered as second class matter January 18, 1934, at the Post Office at Baltimore, Md. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of February 28, 1925.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BY J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

LOUIS M. RABINOWITZ (1887-1957)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Louis M. Rabinowitz in Memoriam	2
Letter from the President's Desk	3
Spring Meeting of the Board of Trustees	4
A Recent Analysis of Grain from Ancient Dibon in Moab. William L. Reed	6
Nabataean New Year Lamps from Petra. Philip C. Hammond, Jr.	10
A Bronze in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University. Donald P. Hansen	13
Alalah and Hittite Chronology. Albrecht Goetze	20
Further Observations on the Chronology of Alalakh. W. F. Albright	26
Recent Books on Assyriology and Related Subjects	34

For Indexes to the BULLETIN see Nos. 50, 74, 76, 80, 103, 105, 141.

LOUIS RABINOWITZ IN MEMORIAM

Since Mr. Louis M. Rabinowitz became a member of our Board of Trustees in December, 1949, we have learned to appreciate his sterling qualities more each year. It is hard to realize that we shall never see him again at our meetings, and that we must now learn to get along without his good judgment, his wit, and his profound humanity. Men like him are rare indeed, and are often not fully appreciated until after their death. However, a steadily growing host of friends and admirers *did* appreciate Louis Rabinowitz during his lifetime—and for his remarkable personal qualities as well as for his generosity.

Louis Rabinowitz was born in Lithuania on October 16th, 1887, and he passed away in New York on April 27th, 1957, falling a little short of his seventieth birthday. After he first came to this country in 1901 he received no more formal education, but became by his own efforts the head of a successful manufacturing company. At the same time, wide reading and association with cultured friends made him a highly cultivated gentleman, a patron of arts and learning. His philanthropic contributions were exceedingly well planned and have added immensely to the quality of American intellectual life. He was particularly generous to Yale University, and among his benefactions of direct interest to our readers may be mentioned his endowment of the chair in Semitic Languages now held by Franz Rosenthal and his support of the Judaica project edited by the late Julian Obermann. Even closer to our own particular interest in Palestinian archaeology was his steady support of President Nelson Glueck's series of summer expeditions to the Negeb of Israel, which have revolutionized our knowledge of the ancient history of this region. To him we also owe the establishment for several years of a fellowship of the Schools in Israel, held successively by Dr. Helene Kantor and Mr. Karl Katz (for two years). And this is only a tiny selection from the long list of his benefactions, which his personal interest and, wherever possible, his direct participation greatly enhanced in value.

In spite of his modesty, Louis Rabinowitz's merits were so outstanding that he received many honors, including a D. H. L. from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in 1956. We shall sorely miss his genial companionship and his unfailing hospitality on the occasion of many meetings of our Board in New York. May his memory long remain green among us!

W. F. ALBRIGHT

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT'S DESK

The spring meeting of the Board of Trustees was held on schedule in New York City and a copy of the minutes is included in this issue of the BULLETIN. The session was well attended and the necessary business was carried on with the most sympathetic cooperation of everyone attending.

The Schools have suffered a grievous loss in the death of our friend and fellow-trustee, Louis Rabinowitz. An obituary written by Dr. Albright is included in this issue. Since taking his place on the Board of Trustees, Mr. Rabinowitz has always been the right-hand man of the president in the business affairs of the Schools. Unfortunately, as so often occurs in organizations such as ours, the president is usually not a business man and Mr. Rabinowitz was always very willing to advise those of us who had to deal with financial affairs which were quite frequently beyond our understanding. Any small ability that I may have acquired in this field is largely due to his kind and sound advice. No one person knows how much he has done for the Schools, since his assistance was always so modestly given. He was a good and true friend and we shall all miss him.

I am sure that all of you have been avidly reading the accounts of the political upheavals in the Near East, and I think more people are aware of the existence of the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan than ever before. The affairs of the School have gone on with scarcely any interruption under the wise leadership of our Director, Dr. Robert Dentan. We are indeed fortunate to have in charge of the School a person whose breadth of vision, both politically and intellectually, makes him so competent for the task before him.

I think it might be well at this point to pay tribute to the directors of the past who have established the reputation for fairness and understanding, which is now paying off so magnificently. The people of Jerusalem well understand what we are doing and in these periods of stress are very kind and helpful to everyone at the School.

One of the big moments in recent weeks in Jerusalem was a visit by Dr. and Mrs. Kraeling who, as usual, were most cooperative in their various negotiations with the local authorities in regard to the affairs of the School and, particularly, in regard to the Scroll project.

Our plans for the future are being made with the hope that we can

continue without interruption our field work for this summer and our academic program for next winter. Dr. Richardson, the Director-elect, will be in Jerusalem by the time this appears in print; and Dr. Sellers, Professor of Archaeology, is expected to arrive late in June. The Annual Professor, Dr. Funk, and the Fellow this year, Dr. Lapp, should appear shortly afterward.

I plan to visit the School in Jerusalem during the second and third weeks of June, and I am looking forward to meeting my old friends and renewing my contacts of years ago. After this visit in Jerusalem, I shall join Prof. George Hanfmann, of Harvard University, an Associate Trustee of the Schools, in a survey of the site of ancient Sardis. The Bollingen Foundation has kindly financed this preliminary investigation and if the surface possibilities for excavation are as promising as our scholarly knowledge of the site, we plan to excavate there in the future. When this preliminary exploration is completed early in July I hope to spend several weeks at Cosa, the site of the American Academy of Rome excavations on the west coast of Italy ninety miles north of Rome.

We can only hope that the political situation remains as stable as it seems to be at the present moment. Again I want to express the appreciation of the Schools for the extraordinary cooperation we have received from the local authorities in Jordan and to thank particularly the members of the State Department, both in Washington and Jordan, who have been most helpful.

A. Henry Detweiler

April, 1957

SPRING MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The spring meeting of the Board of Trustees was held at the Cornell Club in New York City, beginning at 1:30 P. M. on Saturday, March 30, 1957. Present of the Trustees were Messrs. Brown, (Secretary), Colt, Detweiler (President), May, Rabinowitz, Reynolds, Wilkinson and Wright; of the Associate Trustees, Messrs. Anderson, Jeffery and Skehan; in other capacities or by invitation: Messrs. Knight (Provident Trust Company), Stephens (Evaluation Committee), Kramer (Chairman Baghdad School Committee), Reed (Chairman Jerusalem School Committee and Assistant Secretary), (Mrs.) Walton (Business Manager) and Crawford (Director Baghdad School).

President Detweiler called the meeting to order; following the calling of the roll it was voted to declare a quorum and to approve the minutes of the meeting of December 26, 1956, as mimeographed and distributed.

The President reported that plans have been completed for the expedition to Sardis, which has as its purpose the investigation of the site as a possible place of excavation. The President will depart for Turkey on June 10, Dr. Hanfman will participate in the work, and funds have been appropriated by the Bollingen Foundation.

It was voted to receive the following institutions as Corporation Members:

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City
The Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia

It was voted to approve the action of the Executive Committee in paying the extra expenses of the Director and the two Fellows of the Jerusalem School during their enforced absence from Jordan last November. It was voted to empower the President

to hire at the rate of $1.00 per year staff members for the Schools who could, it is hoped, in this way be covered by insurance.

Director Vaughn Crawford reported in behalf of the Baghdad School concerning the Iraq Surface Survey, from which he has recently returned and about which he has reported in mimeographed newsletters. His associates, who included Bob Adams and two residents of Iraq, have surveyed about 1,000 square miles between Baghdad and Nippur, visiting 1,800 *tells* during 99 days in the field. Of the tells visited 180 were of special interest, and of these, 90 were Old Babylonian; on these, conclusions will be based concerning the canals and areas of early occupation in this region. It was reported that one or two additional seasons of exploration may be required to complete the survey.

Reporting in behalf of the Baghdad School Committee, Professor Kramer described the plans for a third season at Nippur.

It was then voted to authorize the Executive Committee, on the recommendation of the Baghdad School Committee, to make any necessary changes regarding the administration of the Baghdad School.

The President reported on the latest information regarding the present status of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Jordan.

The report of the Jerusalem School Committee was presented by the Chairman, who stated that the work of the Committee has been carried on by means of correspondence and telephone since its last meeting in December 1956. The Committee, composed of Messrs. Cross, Glueck, Muilenburg, Winnett and the Chairman, has welcomed a new member, Monsignor Patrick W. Skehan. It was reported that the program of the Jerusalem School has been carried on in a very able way by Director Robert C. Dentan. The usual scholarly research is continuing, as are the archaeological trips of the School. The two Fellows, Pellett and Toombs, are in residence at the School, and the latter has been able to join the staff of Miss Kathleen Kenyon, who is working for a brief season at Jericho. Director Dentan has been able to render an important service to scholarship by serving on a newly appointed committee in Jordan which has the purpose of facilitating scholarly work on the Dead Sea Scrolls at the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

The Jerusalem School Committee has prepared a recommended budget which will make possible some expansion in the program of the Jerusalem School. It was reported that the Fellow, Dr. Paul W. Lapp, has accepted the appointment and will be departing for Jerusalem on June 4 with his wife, who has been admitted as a student. On the recommendation of the Jerusalem School Committee it was voted to approve the following proposals which have been cleared with the President and the Executive Committee:

1. The designation of Dr. H. Neil Richardson of Syracuse as Director of the Jerusalem School for the academic year 1957-58 beginning July 1, 1957.
2. The appointment of Dr. Robert W. Funk of Harvard as Annual Professor for the academic year 1957-58.
3. The appointment of Dr. Ovid Sellers as Professor of Archaeology and Special Representative of the Board of Trustees for the academic year 1957-58 at a salary of $1.00.
4. The designation of the Drew-McCormick Archaeological Expedition to Shechem as a joint one with ASOR to work during July and August 1957. Dr. G. Ernest Wright will be the Archaeological Director and Dr. Bernhard W. Anderson will be the Administrative Director.
5. A request from Professor James L. Kelso of Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary for the use of Jerusalem School field equipment for work at Bethel following the completion of the work at Shechem.

The Chairman concluded his report by expressing the opinion that the Schools are most fortunate in being able to secure the services of such a well qualified staff at this difficult time for the Jerusalem School, and by expressing indebtedness to President Detweiler who has had to do, in behalf of the School, much work which in normal times could be delegated to the Committee.

In the absence of Professor Albright, Professor Wright reported for the Publications Committee and stated that various publications of the Schools, including the *Biblical Archaeologist*, have continued to appear on schedule.

For the special committees the following reports were made:

Professor Brown reported that plans are progressing satisfactorily for the publication of the results of the excavation at Nimrud Dagh with Miss Goell, Professors John Young and Frederick Doerner sharing in the publication.

Mr. Colt reported that the necessity of moving the publication office of the Archaeological Institute of America from Cincinnati has raised a question as to the possibility that we may join with several learned societies for the purpose of approaching a foundation which might furnish funds for a building that could be maintained as a publications distribution center for cooperating societies. It was voted to authorize the President to appoint a special committee to explore the possibilities of such a joint publications office. The President appointed Messrs. Colt, Rabinowitz and Brown to serve on this Committee. Mr. Colt reported also concerning the preparation of a new brochure for the Schools, stating that the copy is almost ready and that estimates of the cost of printing have been secured.

Professor Reed reported for the Planning Committee, stating that a letter has been prepared by the committee and will be sent to Alumni and friends of the Schools inviting them to send in information that will be helpful to the Development Committee. Professor Albright has agreed to print the letter in the next issue of the BULLETIN, a mimeographed letter will go out from the New Haven Office, and the editors of the *Biblical Archaeologist* have agreed to prepare and arrange for the distribution of a letter on behalf of the Planning Committee.

Mr. Reynolds reported for the Development Committee, stating that the work of the Committee has been delayed pending the completion of the brochure and the improvement of the political situation in the Near East. He also reported concerning the Nies Will.

The budget for 1957-58 was presented and details were explained by Mr. Knight, who indicated that the amounts for Sardis would be listed as specified contribution and expenditure. The items pertaining to the budget for the Baghdad School and the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* were explained by Professor Kramer. It was voted that the recommendations made by Chairman Kramer involving the Yale Babylonian Collection and the Metropolitan Museum be approved with enthusiastic thanks.

Professor Wright reported that the Schools' share of the return from the publication of the volume of *Biblical Archaeologist* articles by Doubleday may amount to $900.00 instead of $500.00, as previously estimated.

Following further explanation of the budget for 1957-58 by Mr. Knight, it was voted to approve the budget as amended above.

It was voted that the next meeting of the Trustees be held on Saturday, December 21, 1957 in New York City. The time and place of the annual meeting of the Corporation will be determined by the President and will be held in connection with the national meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature and the National Association of Biblical Instructors.

The meeting was adjourned at 3:15 P. M.

WILLIAM L. REED, *Assistant Secretary*

A RECENT ANALYSIS OF GRAIN FROM ANCIENT DIBON IN MOAB

WILLIAM L. REED

Recent years have witnessed a remarkable advance in our knowledge of the people who inhabited the regions that lie east of the Jordan River and the Dead Sea during the biblical period. Surface explorations of

the area during the 1930s by Dr. Nelson Glueck, under the auspices of the American Schools of Oriental Research, resulted in much information about these eastern neighbors of the ancient Israelites. As Glueck has observed: "At the beginning of the 13th century B. C. a new agricultural civilization appeared . . . belonging to the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Amorites. Although lost in the haze of ancient history, these peoples were fully as real as the Israelites and the Judaeans." [1]

The ancient Moabites have been emerging from the "haze of ancient history" with each new season of excavation at Dhībân, one-time capital of Mesha, king of Moab, called Dibon. Annually since 1950 the American School has sponsored a series of expeditions which have excavated at Dhībân, located 64 kilometers south of Amman on the highway which runs to Kerak.[2] Although the work is far from complete, much information concerning the Iron Age, Nabataean, Byzantine and Medieval Arabic periods has been obtained and many details are now known concerning the fortifications, the water conservation techniques, the construction methods and the burial practices of the ancient Moabites.

During at least two expeditions quantities of ancient grain were discovered in a context which could be dated about 850 B. C.[3] More than a bushel of the grain, which was almost completely carbonized and would obviously not germinate, was collected at Dhībân during the excavations in the spring of 1952. It was found in great quantities in the vicinity of a badly damaged terra-cotta oven located in the earliest stratum of the area under excavation and in a room near the southeast gate of the city. It is probable that a sudden destruction of the area had covered the grain with debris in such a way as to seal it and assure its preservation. In a bin located in the same general area was found a storage jar which had been broken in ancient times but could be restored (Fig. 1). The jar and others like it must have been used in the early part of Iron II for the storage of grain brought from the fields and threshing floors near the city.

A sample of the grain (Fig. 2) was sent to Dr. Harold N. Moldenke,[4]

---

[1] *The Other Side of the Jordan*, p. 125.

[2] See BULLETIN, 125, pp. 7 f. and 133, pp. 6 ff.; *BA*, XVI, 1, p. 8; *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, Vol. 2.

[3] The first samples were obtained in 1952 while the writer served as director. Dr. Wm. H. Morton, who conducted the latest campaign at Dhībân in 1956, has recently informed the writer that grain was also found in the area near the center of the *tell* where the recent excavations have been conducted.

[4] Analysis by Dr. Moldenke was not possible because of the fact that the necessary herbarium material was not available to him. Mention should be made of Dr. Moldenke's excellent *Plants of the Bible*, Waltham, Mass., (1952). In his discussion of wheat (cf. pp. 230-233) three observations are relevant to the present report: "There is no doubt that the "wheat" of the Bible is the commonly cultivated and well-known summer and winter wheat of the present day, *Triticum aestivum*." . . . "Five kinds of wheat are native to and still wild today in Palestine and neighboring lands and at least 8 others are cultivated there. It is very probable that most or perhaps even all of these were also used in Biblical days. The native kinds were undoubtedly much more abundant there then than they are now." . . . "Three varieties of wheat are now very commonly cultivated in Palestine: on the maritime

FIG. 1. Storage jar, four handles. C 3074, Area B, level 4 a.

FIG. 2. Close-up view of Dhiban grain, DO 217.

who examined it and arranged for its analysis by Dr. Jason R. Swallen, Head Curator, Department of Botany, Smithsonian Institution.[5] Dr. Swallen reports: ". . . the grain found in Dhiban, Jordan, is a wheat relative, although perhaps it might be better to say 'probably a wheat relative.' The identification of seeds which have practically turned to carbon is very difficult and it is better, therefore, not to make a too definite statement. Unfortunately, our herbarium material very seldom has any caryopses for comparison."

Although identification of the Moabite grain as wheat must remain tentative for the time being, it is probable that specimens of the *ḥittāh* (pl. *ḥittîm*), mentioned often in the Old Testament have been recovered.[6] In any case, the presence of the grain in great quantities and the evidence of careful preparation for its cultivation, storage and baking into bread attest its importance in the agricultural life of ancient Dibon.

More recently the analysis of another specimen of the grain from Dibon has resulted in its dating by a radiocarbon test. Although several scientists have expressed fear that fall-out from atomic bomb tests may be having an effect which will invalidate the accurate measurement of carbon isotope No. 14 in organic material, the test is being widely used and is helpful in archaeological investigation, especially in such places as Moab where the ceramic chronology is in the process of being established.[7] The writer wishes to express appreciation to the Magnolia Petroleum Company and to Dr. C. I. Alexander, Manager of the Field Research Laboratory of the company in Dallas, Texas for making the test possible.[7a] On March 5, 1957 Dr. Alexander reported: "Three periods of counting were used, giving an average age of 2,815 ± 165 years B. P. A number of background and modern sample determinations were made to improve the accuracy."

As the test indicates, the span of history, from about 1020 B. C. to 690 B. C. covers the whole of Moabite history from the accession of Saul to the reign of Hezekiah.[8] Although it is probable that future studies of Moabite pottery will be able to determine with increasing certainty

---

plains there is a white short-bearded form, while inland there is a short-stemmed, long-bearded, thick-set, coarse-grained form and also a form with longer stems and coarse black beards and husks."

[5] The writer wishes to express appreciation to Dr. Swallen for his analysis of the grain and for permission to quote from his letter of July 14, 1954.

[6] Cf. Gen. 30: 14; Jud. 6: 11; 15: 1; Ruth 2: 23 etc.

[7] The most recent statement of the use of radiocarbon dating in connection with archaeological materials is G. W. Van Beek's "A Radiocarbon Date for Early South Arabia," BULLETIN, No. 143, pp. 6-9. It is interesting to note that the span of history parallels within a few years the span of history covered by our test.

[7a] For the benefit of readers who are remote from the field of radiocarbon research, it may be remarked that, according to two competent scientists with whom I have spoken recently, the radiocarbon laboratory of the Magnolia Petroleum Company is probably the best in the world at the moment.—W. F. A.

[8] Because the radiocarbon tests suggests a possible date of 858 B. C. for the grain, it is of more than passing interest that both Dr. W. F. Albright and Père deVaux, who independently examined the pottery found in context with the grain, suggested a date for the pottery about 850 B. C.

the earliest strata of occupation at Dhībân, it is important at this time to have the results of radiocarbon test.

An incidental result of this recent analysis of Moabite grain is that it represents a bit of archaeological evidence which helps to explain this ancient land as a place of refuge for Israelite families. It will be recalled that David is reported to have placed his parents with the Moabite king (I Sam. 22:3-4), and that the family of Elimelech went from Bethlehem to sojourn in the country of Moab (Ruth 1:1 f.). It is possible that such flights to Moab were not uncommon in ancient times,[9] and it is probable that such a refuge was selected, not merely because Moab had escaped the military invasions which plagued Israel and Judah, but rather for the reason that Moab, with its fertile plains, was an important "bread-basket" of ancient Palestine.[10]

NABATAEAN NEW YEAR LAMPS FROM PETRA

Philip C. Hammond, Jr.

In reviewing the Nabataean materials from Petra, published by G. Horsfield, a lamp parallel has been found which sheds light upon a previously unrecognized custom at Petra, and which may well assist in the classification of other, specifically Nabataean, lamps from that site.

The lamp to be considered is that numbered by the excavators as # 426 (36.875), and typed as Broneer XXII. This is described in the Catalogue as having upon its discus a "Winged figure flying, holding a sheaf of corn and pointing to a sphere."[1] Actually, this lamp falls into a definite group of Roman lamps, distinctive in motif and purpose.

This Roman lamp group is composed of specific types, all dating generally in the first century A. D.,[2] and serving as New Year tokens, with the decoration symbolic of the usual greetings and gifts exchanged in Roman society. The discus motif is the same in every case: a central

[9] It is of interest that during the excavations of the American Schools of Oriental Research at Dhībân families journeyed from Bethlehem to Moab for the purpose of working in the wheat and barley harvest in the still fertile plains adjacent to the Moabite capital.

[10] Modern commentaries, such as the one by J. J. Slotki, *Ruth, Introduction and Commentary, The Five Megilloth* (The Soncino Press, 1952), p. 41, which explain famine in Judah and migration as due to military invasion, fail to take account of the possibility that Moab presented an attractive haven because of its normally excellent crops of grain.

[1] *QDAP* IX, p. 196, and Plate XLV.

[2] Walters, H. B., *Catalogue of The Greek & Roman Lamps in the British Museum*, # 780 and # 1062 and descriptions, especially p. 118. Alföldi, Andreas, *Die Kontorniaten*, Budapest, Plate LXX, 2 and Text, p. 38 (and note 11). Also unpublished examples from Cosa, to be published as CEL 52 a and b (Broneer XXI and XXIII), CEL 49, 50, 51 a and 51 b (Broneer XXIV). Iványi, Dóra, *Die pannonischen Lampen*, Budapest, Plate XLIII # 14.

winged, draped female figure (Victory?), facing left.[3] In the left hand she carries a sheaf (or branch?), and her right arm is extended toward a round shield.[4] The shield may be plain, or inscribed with appropriate

Lamp from British Museum (with permission).

greetings (as BM #780—"ANNU(M) NOV(UM) FAUSTU(M) FELIC(EM)": as Cosa, CEL 52a & b; and as examples from Budapest).[5] About the shield and figure are depicted the *strenae*;[6] above the shield

[3] A case might be made for the identification of this figure with Ceres, because of the sheaf, etc.

[4] It is suggested that this is the *ancile*, here, inspite of the shape, because of its symbolic implications, instead of either the *clipeus* or the *parma*.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti* I, 175 (Frazer's edition, 1929, I)—"cur laeta tuis dicuntur verba . . .".

[6] Walters, *op. cit.*, see description on p. 118 and note; but cf. Ovid, I, 231, 728-29, 275-76 in regard to the gifts and sacrifices (dates, figs, honey, coins, barley cakes, etc.), I, 185-90.

is an indeterminate object bound with a fillet, below it a leaf (although the Budapest specimen makes this identification doubtful), and two coins (one of which usually shows clasped hands, the other a Victory). Behind the figure is another coin (an *as*),[7] with Janus heads. Below that coin appears a small cake (?) shaped like a strawberry, with markings on the surface.

The Petra piece is not as clear as are examples found elsewhere, but the parallel is unquestionable. The detail may be reconstructed perfectly, since the motif seems to have had a set form, regardless of lamp type. The Petra specimen is rather worn, so the detail of the coins and other objects is illegible in most cases (the bust of the Janus heads is quite definite, however, as are the markings on the "cake," the fillet on the uppermost object and the central Victory). No inscription is visible (in the photograph) on the shield, but because of the condition of the lamp it is not possible to tell whether or not it once had one.

This example found at Petra shows that the Roman custom was known there, and presents a possible connection between this Roman type and certain Nabataean types as far as function is concerned. It is therefore suggested that the local lamps published by Horsfield as # 42, # 416, # 417, # 418 and # 413, # 414 are related, functionally, to the Roman "New Year Lamps."[8]

These local lamps were classified by Horsfield as (late) variants of Broneer XXII. Each bears an inscription on its base, the complete lamp # 42 relating the base fragments to body form and decoration. Thus the lamps form a distinct class of Nabataean lamps—though as *two* related sub-types of Broneer XXII, and not mere "variants" (on the basis of base treatments and inscriptions)!

Lamps # 413 and # 414 bear the inscription *ŠLM* "greetings" on the base, along with a proper name. It is therefore suggested that this provides a link between the Nabataean types and the conventional Roman greeting lamp—in *purpose*. Though the local examples do not show a decoration on the discus, the presence of a felicitation or greeting on the base would point to the possibility of a remembrance token in these cases, as well. The relevance of the inscriptions on the rest of the Nabataean lamps (*TLT*)[9] is not so clear, but some relation may still be found.

Thus these Nabataean lamps were not only local varieties of Roman types in form, but would seem to indicate the possibility of a custom taken over from the Romans as well—the practice of giving lamps as

[7] Ovid, I, 220—"aera vetusta," and, specifically I, 231, the coin with the double-faced Janus head.

[8] Ultimately I would relate other published fragments to the same two local classes: Dalman, G., *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, fig. 15b, p. 27; Murray & Ellis, *A Street in Petra*, Pl. XXXVI, 15; *AASOR*, XV, Pl. 30 B, 1; and certain of my own fragments from Petra.

[9] It is not impossible that *TLT* is an abbreviation of an Aramaic expression rendering the familiar Greek *tris-* in such words as *trismakários*, "thrice blessed"; this use of *tris-* was exceedingly common in Greek, especially in Hellenistic and Roman times.—W. F. A.

tokens of good wishes at the New Year or some other festival in the Nabataean calendar.

A BRONZE IN THE SEMITIC MUSEUM OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DONALD P. HANSEN

Although our knowledge of Syrian, Phoenician, and Palestinian sculpture of the second millenium B. C. is very meager, we are fortunate in having preserved for us a number of bronze and copper figurines. Many of these bronzes are mere examples of crude workmanship; others exhibit a high degree of sophistication. The problems which the bronzes pose for the archaeologist and historian of ancient Near Eastern art are by no means solved, but several studies have aided in establishing the position of certain groups in the history of Syro-Phoenician art.[1] However, there are many bronzes in various museums which need to be published in order that the stylistic and iconographic variations of the bronze types can be more fully known.

In the Semitic Museum of Harvard University there is a small bronze (No. 4432) representing a seated god holding a cup.[2] The figurine was cast solid and has two pegs; one projects from the feet, the other from the buttocks. The figure appears to be perfectly intact except for the loss of the inlays which probably once filled the eyes.

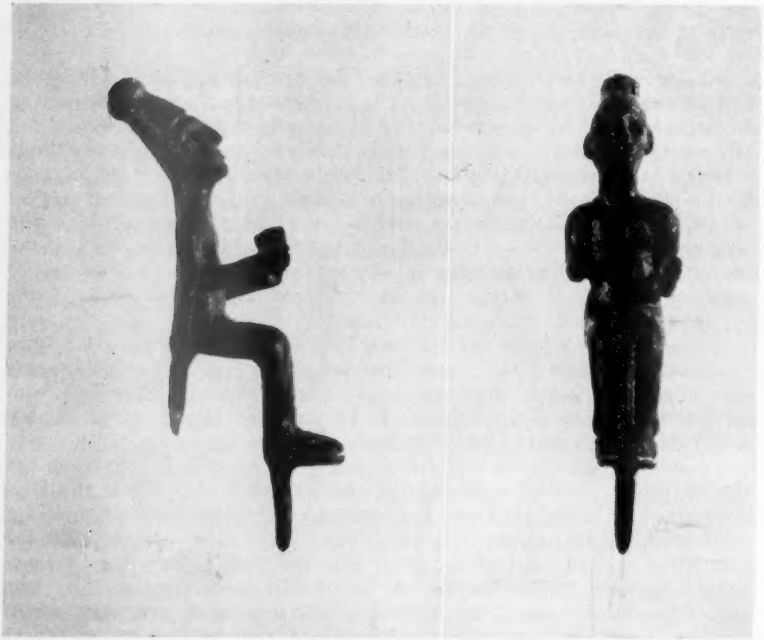
Upon his head the god wears a conical crown which bulges at the top. A groove at the bottom of the crown, visible only above the face, separates the headdress from the forehead. The eyebrows, though not quite symmetrical, spring from the bridge of the nose in slowly moving arcs which end just before the ears. The eye sockets have been formed simply by two punch holes. The mouth is clearly suggested by two raised bands. On each ear there are two circular impressions whose significance is not clear. These impressions may be suggestions of ear piercings for earrings or perhaps the lower impression on each ear represents the ear opening. The well formed and sturdy neck holds the head of the god aloft in such a manner that the face gazes upward. The form of the head is fully rounded, but the body of the god is rather flat. There is a decided increase in thickness in the area of the waist and a slight indication of the formation of the chest. Yet there has been no attempt on the part of the sculptor to articulate the structure. In his right hand the god holds a small cup; the left hand forms a fist. There is no suggestion of the leg muscles, but the ankle bones are well

[1] The pertinent literature is cited in G. M. A. Hanfmann and D. P. Hansen, "Hittite Bronzes and Other Near Eastern Figurines in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 6: 2 (1956) p. 43, n. 2-4; p. 44, n. 5.

[2] I should like to thank Professor Robert H. Pfeiffer for permission to publish the bronze. The dimensions of the figurine are as follows: height, 3.5 inches; width, 0.9 inches.

defined. The feet of the figure are large in relation to the rest of the body. On each foot a sandal strap, beginning in the area of the big toe, passes over the foot and back toward the outside edge of the heel.

The bronze was bought in Jerusalem in 1907 by Professor David Gordon Lyon, Curator of the Semitic Museum from 1891 to 1931. The figure was said to have come from Nablus.



Iconographically, the Semitic Museum figurine is not unique. A bronze from Enkomi, definitely related to the mainland figurines, presents a close parallel.[3] This Cypriote figure also carries a cup and is enthroned much in the same manner as the Semitic Museum bronze. To my knowledge there are no other parallels for the seated cup-bearing god among the bronzes of Syria and Phoenicia. However, many bronzes of Syrian and Phoenician provenance are cast in the form of enthroned gods and goddesses,[4] while others frequently depict figures holding a cup or chalice.[5] The tall crown of our bronze may be paralleled by that of

[3] C. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia* (Paris, 1952) Pl. LXXIV.

[4] Bossert, *Altsyrien* (Tübingen, 1951) figs. 570, 581, 585-587, 606; S. Prezeworski, "Notes d'archéologie syrienne et hittite, les figurines assises et le char divin," *Syria* 9 (1928) Pl. LXVII, figs. 2-3.

[5] G. M. A. Hanfmann and D. P. Hansen, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 1) figs. 1-2. Cf. examples cited *ibid.*, p. 45, n. 9-10.

the famous "Louvre" goddess and by a related example from Megiddo.[6]

Perhaps the two most distinctive characteristics of the Semitic Museum bronze are the raised head and the relationship of the large, well-modeled head to the proportionally smaller flat body. A seated bronze from Ain Shems possesses the same traits.[7] This figurine also wears sandals and has similar projecting pegs for the attachment of the bronze to some other object. Though the Ain Shems figure holds no cup and wears a different crown, it is obvious that it is closely related to the Semitic Museum bronze. Other bronzes from Palestinian excavations belonging to the same group are: one from Tell Abu Hawam,[8] one from Beth-shan,[9] two from Gezer,[10] and two from Megiddo.[11] It has already been noted that one of the Megiddo bronzes wears a crown similar to that of the Semitic Museum bronze.

Unfortunately none of the Palestinian bronzes come from well-dated archaeological contexts. The bronze from Tell Abu Hawam was found in Stratum V,[12] and the two bronzes from Megiddo are given as belonging to Strata IX-VII and VIII.[13] Apparently the bronzes from Gezer were unstratified. Although the bronze from Ain Shems was found in Stratum III (now IIa, Iron I) the official publication suggested that it was out of context and probably belongs to Stratum IV, which would make it roughly contemporary with the Tell Abu Hawam example.[14] This may well be the case. Yet the Beth-shan example was found in the Stratum V temple which is dated to the Iron I period, suggesting that perhaps the Ain Shems bronze was not misplaced. The evidence from the stratifications of Tell Abu Hawam and Megiddo is far from specific; yet it does suggest that the bronzes belong to the Late Bronze Age. However, the Beth-shan figure indicates that the type continued to be made in the early part of the Iron Age.

Since there is no reason to doubt the suggested Palestinian provenance of the Semitic Museum bronze, it seems likely that it is contemporary with the Palestinian group of the Late Bronze and Iron I Ages. As a

[6] "Louvre" goddess: Bossert, *Altsyrien*, fig. 582; Megiddo: G. Loud, *Megiddo II*, OIP 62 (Chicago, 1948), Pl. 236, fig. 24. Although there are many representations on Syrian seals of both seated and standing figures wearing oval crowns and carrying vases, our understanding of this important ritual act is far from clear. A comparative study of the ritual in which this act occurs in the various Near Eastern cultures needs to be undertaken before any definite statement can be made. I do not know of any seated figure on the Syrian seals with a crown similar to the crowns of the Semitic Museum and "Louvre" goddess bronzes.

[7] Elihu Grant, *Ain Shems I* (Haverford, 1931) Pl. XI, no. 1571; drawing in *Ain Shems II*, Pl. XLVII, 42.

[8] R. W. Hamilton, "Excavations at Tell Abu Hawam," *QDAP* IV (1934) Pl. XV, 2.

[9] A. Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth Shan I*, Publications of the Palestine Section of the University Museum, Vol. II (Philadelphia, 1940) Pl. XXXV, fig. 9; Pl. LXVA, fig. 2.

[10] R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, Vol. III (London, 1912) Pl. CCXI, figs. 1 & 7 (given wrongly as fig. 77).

[11] *Op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6) Pl. 235, fig. 23 and Pl. 236, fig. 24.

[12] *Op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 8) p. 60.

[13] *Op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6) p. opp. Pl. 235 and opp. Pl. 236.

[14] Elihu Grant and G. Wright, *Ain Shems IV* (Haverford, 1939) p. 154.

matter of inference the Late Bronze Age seems most likely, perhaps around the 14th century B. C.

The prototypes of the Palestinian group are to be sought among the varied bronze figurine types of North Syria and Phoenicia proper. It is not only the crown with bulging top that relates the Semitic Museum and Megiddo bronzes to the "Louvre" goddess. To be sure, the head of the goddess is not as rounded, nor is the neck as thick in the Palestinian examples. However, the relationship of the large head to the flat body and the posture of the goddess are quite similar. Just as with the Semitic Museum bronze, the large raised head serves to focus the viewer's attention on the staring eyes from which emanates the divine "presence." Other figurines which are stylistically related to the "Louvre" goddess have been pointed out several times. Schaeffer rightly suggested that she should be associated with the seated goddess from Ras Shamra which he has dated to the 19th-17th centuries B. C.[15] On the basis of this suggestion, supported by Porada and Dussaud,[16] the old date of the 14th-13th centuries B. C. was raised.

Perhaps it is possible to arrive at a closer dating by considering a related group of figurines. In her article on the "Warrior with the Plumed Helmet," Miss Porada has clearly shown that the warrior group, dated to the 19th and 18th centuries B. C., is related to the Ras Shamra and "Louvre" goddesses.[17] However, on considering the general style of the bronzes, it seems likely that the Ras Shamra and "Louvre" goddesses present a somewhat later phase in a regular stylistic development from a more abstract to a more modeled style. Although the bodies of the goddesses are extremely flat, like the bodies of the warrior group, the heads are more plastically conceived and the rigidity of the sculptural masses has been reduced.[18] I should therefore suggest that the Ras Shamra goddess belongs to the latter part of the three centuries proposed by Schaeffer and should be given an approximate Middle Bronze II B dating. As Dussaud has suggested, the magnificent bronze from Mishrifeh also belongs to this group.[19] In summary then, the Mishrifeh-Ras Shamra-"Louvre" group belongs to approximately Middle Bronze II B, while their Palestinian descendents can be dated to the Late Bronze and Iron I Ages.

Since there is a gap of several centuries in this specific case between

[15] C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* (Paris, 1939) p. 133, n. 1.

[16] E. Porada, "The Warrior with Plumed Helmet . . . ," *Berytus* VII, fasc. 1 (1942) p. 61; R. Dussaud, *l'art phénicien du IIe millénaire* (Paris, 1949) p. 62.

[17] E. Porada, *loc. cit.* Miss Porada states that the possibility of a 17th century date should also be considered.

[18] A tentative proposal for the stylistic development of some Syrian bronzes is given in G. M. A. Hanfmann and D. P. Hansen, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 1) p. 47.

[19] Dussaud, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16) pp. 61-62. Frankfort gives a much later date for this bronze and includes it in his "Mitannian Era (circa 1450-1360 B. C.)." H. Frankfort *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Penguin Books, 1955) pp. 149-150. His statement on p. 150 in reference to the Ras Shamra goddess that the body formed by a flat strip of metal bent at the hips and knees is "a common trait of Syrian bronzes of the fourteenth to twelfth century B. C." is not entirely correct.

the Palestinian group and its prototypes, the question immediately arises whether all Palestinian bronzes are later in date than their Syrian and Phoenician prototypes. This is not the case, for in addition to the Syro-Phoenician and Palestinian bronzes cited above in connection with the Semitic Museum bronze, there are two other figurines from Megiddo which can be dated as roughly contemporary with their respective Syro-Phoenician parallels. Each of these belongs to a different Syro-Phoenician group.

The first is a bronze from Stratum XI which is related to a group that is well known in Syria and Phoenicia.[20] The figurine is characterized by a large head, torque, small flat body with extremely square shoulders, a narrow waist, a series of stylized striations across the abdomen, and long spindly legs. Other figures of known provenance related to this Megiddo piece come from Tell Simiriyan and from the vicinity of Homs. They can be dated to the Middle Bronze Age.[21] Stratum XI of Megiddo belongs to the Middle Bronze II B period and thus the date of the Megiddo bronze is roughly the same as that of the Tell Simiriyan and Homs figurines.

The second figurine from Megiddo is a rather fine "Reshef." The god is depicted striding forward with his right arm raised above his head. He was found in Strata IX-VII and can be roughly dated sometime during Late Bronze I and II.[22] A bronze from Ras Shamra and the famous pieces from Latakia and Boğazkale, among others, are stylistically related to it.[23] In contrast to the flat-bodied, almost two dimensional pieces which have been mentioned earlier, this group presents us with more fully rounded forms and a better sense of movement—qualities perhaps derived from Egyptian inspiration. The Ugarit bronze which is dated to Ras Shamra I 2 and the Boğazkale piece indicate a date for the group c. 14th century B. C.[24] Again the date for the Syrian and Phoenician bronzes roughly coincides with that of the Megiddo example. Although it must be readily admitted that the date span for

[20] *Op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6) Pl. 234, fig. 14.

[21] R. J. Braidwood, "Report on Two Sondages on the Coast of Syria, South of Tartous," *Syria* XXI (1940) p. 183 f. and Pl. XXVI; Bossert, *Altsyrien* fig. 598. Figurines of the same type have been discussed by Speelers, "Deux figurines syro-hittites," *Syria* III (1922) pp. 134-140; related: J. Menant, "Quelques figurines hétéennes en bronze," *R. Arch.* XXVII (Jan.-Juin 1895) pp. 31-34. The group with a new addition has recently been discussed by A. Parrot, "Acquisitions et inédits du Musée du Louvre, 2. Bronzes Syriens," *Syria* 29 (1952) p. 44 f. Parrot combines in one group bronzes of the "Ras Shamra Flat Idol" type (Schaeffer, *Ugaritica II* (Paris, 1949) Pl. XVII-XVIII) with those of the "Simiriyan" type and gives a date of 1660-1440 for the group. Further remarks have been made by H. Seyrig on the "Flat Idol" type (Syria 30 (1953) p. 46, n. 1). He suggests that the idols were probably made in inner Syria since the coastal area was under strong Egyptian influence at the time of their fabrication. Consequently, the Ras Shamra pieces are most likely imports. It is not clear whether he suggests the same for the "Simiriyan" type.

[22] Loud, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6) Pl. 235, fig. 22.

[23] *Syria* 10 (1929) Pl. LIII; Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin, 1942) Figs. 581-583; Bossert, *Altsyrien*, fig. 577. Cf. also Schaeffer, *Ugaritica II*, Pl. XX.

[24] Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia*, p. 374, n. 2.

the "Simiriyan" group and the span allowed by the Megiddo stratification of the "Reshef" are quite large, the evidence does suggest that the Palestinian bronzes are generally contemporary with their northern counterparts.

We have now established a Palestinian group of figures of the Late Bronze and early Iron Ages with prototypes in Syria and Phoenicia of the Middle Bronze II B period. We have also tried to show that the Palestinian bronzes are not always later in date than their counterparts in the north. We may now place our group within the various basic groups of Syro-Phoenician and Palestinian bronzes hitherto established. In tabular form a tentative outline of the basic groups is as follows:

Early Bronze I:	Judeideh Figurines
Middle Bronze:	Lebanon Mountain Group
	Flat Idols
	Simiriyan group
Middle Bronze II A:	Plumed Warrior group
Middle Bronze II B:	Ras Shamra-"Louvre"-Mishrifeh group
Middle Bronze II C—Late Bronze I:	
	Fogg Museum bronze
Late Bronze:	Ras Shamra seated figurines in modeled style
	Modeled "Reshefs" and related pieces.

From the above outline we see that in the Middle Bronze Age there are a series of contemporary but distinct groups including the "Flat Idol," "Simiriyan," and "Warrior with Plumed Helmet."[25] Although these figurines fall into well defined groups they are closely interrelated. The "Flat Idols" are related to the "Simiriyan" group,[26] which in turn is linked to the "Warrior with Plumed Helmet" type.[27] With the latter group we begin a development which progresses clearly and consistently into the Late Bronze Age. The "Warriors" are followed by the Ras Shamra and "Louvre" goddesses, the prototypes of our Palestinian bronzes. The next stage in the development is represented by two bronzes from Ras Shamra which assume the same seated posture.[28] Both display a greater desire on the part of the sculptor to express more of the structure of the body than did the sculptor of the "Louvre" goddess. Instead of the typically flat bodies, the forms are more plastically conceived. These figures can be dated around the 14th century B. C.[29] and cannot be stylistically dissociated from the group discussed

[25] The Lebanon Mountain group and the "Flat Idols" both hark back to the Early Bronze Age figurines from Tell Judeideh. For the Lebanon group and the Judeideh figurines cf. H. Seyrig, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 21) p. 45.

[26] Cf. the reproductions in A. Parrot, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 21) Figs. 1-7.

[27] Cf. Porada, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16) Pl. VIII, 4-5 with the Tell Simiriyan figure, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 21).

[28] Schaeffer, *Syria* 10 (1929) Pl. LIV; *Syria* 17 (1936) Pl. XV, 3; also Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia*, Pl. LXXVI.

[29] The figurine without the crown comes from Ras Shamra I 2 and was found together with the "Reshef" (*supra*, p. 7). Also related to the Ugarit piece are two bronzes in the Louvre published by Prezworski, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4). This period of the Late Bronze Age was one of intense internationalism throughout the

by us above, which included the Ugarit "Reshef," the Latakia and Boğazkale bronzes. Both stylistically related groups together probably cover the period of Late Bronze II A and B, but it is not clear how far back into Late Bronze I this style should be dated. The gap (MB II C—early LB I ?) is perhaps to be filled by such figurines as the one in the Fogg Museum of Art.[30]

This development, however, does not coincide with the evidence derived from the study of our Semitic Museum figurine and its relatives. It has been pointed out that the Middle Bronze Age "Simiriyan" type and the Late Bronze Age "Reshef" type are apparently contemporary with their prototypes in the north. Yet the Palestinian group to which our Semitic Museum figurine belongs was produced in the Late Bronze and Iron I Ages with northern prototypes of the Middle Bronze Age. There are to my knowledge no figurines of the same type as the "Louvre"-Ras Shamra-Mishrife group occurring in Phoenicia or Syria which can be dated by stratigraphic evidence to the Late Bronze Age. Two explanations are possible. Either the Semitic Museum bronze and its related group must be considered as a continuation of the earlier style into the Late Bronze and Iron I Age only in Palestine or else it must be assumed that the flat-bodied type continued to be reproduced in Syria and Phoenicia along with the more modeled style even though we have no dated examples. The latter alternative seems the most probable and receives some support when the bizarre Late Bronze Age statue of Idrimi is considered.[31] Idrimi is conceived with a large head, a proportionally smaller flat body, and a strange geometrical distribution of the body parts quite unlike the plastic renderings of the Late Bronze Age northern figurines. It is far more in keeping with the earlier more geometrical, flat-bodied works.

Our study of the Semitic Museum bronze clearly indicates the apparent lack of coherent development within the confusing array of Syro-Phoenician and Palestinian figurines. As is so often the case in the study of these bronzes, our investigation of the seated flat-bodied group presents us with a type that continued to be produced over a long period of time. Perhaps we shall be able to arrive at a better understanding of the development when we can more fully distinguish the styles which may be attributed to Syrian, Phoenician or Palestinian craftsmen.

---

eastern Mediterranean world. Styles from Mesopotamia, Syria, Phoenicia, Egypt, and the Aegean were peculiarly mixed. The Egyptian influence is particularly strong in the Ugarit "Reshef" and is to be noted clearly in the larger figurine from the Louvre. The face, particularly in the region of the eyes, is very close to the Egyptian style.

[30] G. M. A. Hanfmann and D. P. Hansen, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 1) Figs. 1-2.

[31] Woolley, *Alalakh* (Oxford, 1955) Pl. XLVI. Cf. the interesting remarks on this statue in M. Vieyra, *Hittite Art* (London, 1955) pp. 83-84.

ALALAḪ AND HITTITE CHRONOLOGY

ALBRECHT GOETZE

Hittitologists studying the article by W. F. Albright, "Stratigraphic Confirmation of the Low Mesopotamian Chronology," published in BASOR 144 (Dec. 1956) 26-30, are faced with a puzzling paradox. They are told that Alalaḫ VII ended "after ca. 1640" [1] and that this occurred a considerable time before Labarnaš, the founder of the Old Hittite Kingdom.[2] Nevertheless, the identification of the general Zukraši mentioned in the Alalaḫ tablet (henceforth AT) 6, with the general of the same name occurring in KBo VII 14 [3] etc., an identification which we owe to Landsberger,[4] is pronounced certain.[5] Synchronization with information culled from the Alalaḫ texts yields to Albright the following sequence of facts and events affecting Asia Minor:

(a) Anittaš [6] of Kuššar conquers Ḫattuša, ca. 1730.[7]

(b) Yarim-Lim and his son Ḫammurapi, kings of Ḫalab, are in contact with the Hittites, ca. 1720 and 1700 respectively [8] (KUB XXXI 5).[9]

(c) Zukraši, general for a king of Ḫalab, ca. 1675-1650 (KBo VII 14 etc.).[10]

Siege of Uršu, middle decades of the 17th century [11] (KBo I 11).[12]

(d) Labarnaš founds the Old Hittite Kingdom, ca. 1600.[13]

This comes as a surprise to those who are convinced that both (b) and (c) fall within the Old Hittite Kingdom,[14] i. e. after Labarnaš, and

[1] L. c. 28 f.

[2] L. c. 28 fn. 9.

[3] The tablet bearing the excavation number 29/k has been available in H. Otten's autograph since 1954. The piece with which it is now joined, 530/f, is published as KUB XXXVI 100. Duplicates of the combined text are KUB XXXVI 101 and 102.

[4] JCS 8 (1954) 52.

[5] L. c. 28 fn. 9.

[6] For the most recent translation of the text of Anittaš see H. Otten, MDOG 83 (1951) 40 ff. It takes all the available material, old and new, into consideration.

[7] "Contemporary of Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria" l. c. 28 fn. 9. In Albright's chronology 1748 is Šamši-Adad's first year; see BASOR 88 (1942) 32.

[8] L. c. 28 fn. 9 where the two kings are identified with the kings No. 1 and No. 2 respectively of the list reproduced below.

[9] Cf. H. G. Güterbock, ZA NF 10 (1938) 93.

[10] L. c. 28 fn. 9.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] The text was treated in detail by H. G. Güterbock, ZA NF 10 (1938) 113 ff. Compare also R. S. Hardy, AJSL 58 (1941) 177 ff.; Sidney Smith, JRAS 1942 64 ff. and *Anat. Stud.* 6 (1956) 35-43.

[13] This is the date given for Labarnaš by Albright, BASOR 88 (1942) 32.

[14] In all mentioned texts the "king" (LUGAL or *šarrum*) occurs. This is plainly the Hittite king, the mode of introduction being that customary in Old

consider it as certain that the texts KBo VII 14 etc. and KUB XXXI 5 etc. are closely related,[15] indeed may be part of the same composition. Finally, one asks, can KBo I 11 be dissociated from the wars of Ḫattušiliš and Muršiliš I against Ḫalab? [16]

Albright's arrangement is based on synchronisms with the kinglists of Ḫalab (Aleppo) and Alalaḫ which he reconstructs—utilizing the earlier work of Landsberger, JCS 8 (1954) 51 f.—as follows:

ALEPPO		ALALAKH	
1. Yarim-Lim I	(c. 1720+)		
2. Ḫammurapi	(c. 1700+)		
3. Abba-il	(c. 1680±)	1. Yarim-Lim	
4. Yarim-Lim II	(c. 1660±)	2. Ammitaqum(ma)	
		3. Ḫammurapi	
5. Niqmepuḫ	(c. 1640±)	4. Irkabtum (son of 2)	
		(Alalakh falls after c. 1640)	

He assigns to each generation of Ḫalab kings twenty years.[17] Placing Niqmepuḫ (No. 5) "ca. 1640 ±," his date for Ḫammurapi (No. 2) is "ca. 1700 +." Since this king of Ḫalab is contemporaneous with his namesake, the famous king of Babel, he finds confirmation for his view that the Babylonian legislator reigned 1728-1686.

Let us examine Albright's kinglist a little more closely.

Landsberger gave after the fifth king of Ḫalab a sixth and seventh one, Yarim-Lim II and Ḫammurapi II respectively (JCS 8 51). Albright omits them, but they must certainly be restored. For, Ammitaqum of Alalaḫ is contemporaneous with more than one king of Ḫalab. There is

(a) Niqmepuḫ, see AT 55. Then there is
(b) Irkabtum, see AT 54.[18] There is moreover
(c) Yarim-Lim, see AT 6, 27, 61, 79, 95.

Hittite texts. There is no historical tradition, as far as we know, among the Hittites which leads beyond Labarnaš with the only exception of the Anittaš text. In two copies (KUB XXVI 71 = 2BoTU 30; KUB XXXVI 98) it is immediately followed by a text of Ammunaš!

[15] As pointed out by H. Otten, MDOG 86 (1953) 61 f.

[16] Cf. the articles quoted in fn. 12.

[17] L. c. 28. In my judgment this is too little. However, this point is of no significance for the present argument.

[18] See Sidney Smith, *Anatolian Studies* 6 (1956) 40.

Among these tablets AT 27 and 61 bear the date Yarim-Lim *šarrum* "Yarim-Lim (became) king." This means that Ammitaqum had been king before Yarim-Lim ascended the throne of Ḫalab. In other words, Yarim-Lim was Niqmepuḫ's successor and must be added to the kinglist of Ḫalab. Finally there is

(d) Ḫammurapi, king of Yamḫad,[19] see AT 21, 22.

In this connection it is worth pointing out that Yarim-Lim, the first king of Alalaḫ, is a contemporary not only of Abba-El of Ḫalab who put him on the throne (AT 1), but also of Niqmepuḫ, see AT 52. When combined with the evidence for Ammitaqum, this indicates, to my thinking, that the coördination of the two series as given by both Landsberger and Albright is at fault. Relative to the kings of Ḫalab, the kings of Alalaḫ must be moved down by one generation. It therefore becomes doubtful whether Yarim-Lim, the first king of Alalaḫ, was indeed a brother of Abba-El, his overlord. It is true that Abba-El had a brother named Yarim-Lim (AT 56 44), it is also true that Yarim-Lim of Alalaḫ was the son of a Ḫammurapi (AT 1). However, both these names are so frequent in Ḫalab and Alalaḫ, that they cannot prove anything. Moreover, would one not expect to find in AT 1 the brother relationship between overlord and vassal explicitly stated if it did indeed exist? However this may be, the enumerated synchronisms between Ḫalab and Alalaḫ counsel against the assumption.

After Yarim-Lim III and Ḫammurapi II have been restored at the end of the kinglist of Ḫalab, it is necessary to ask: is the pair Yarim-Lim and Ḫammurapi occurring KUB XXXI 5 to be identified with the kings No. 1 and No. 2 (as Albright maintains)[20] or with the two last kings (as Landsberger does)? The answer must take into consideration the fact that KUB XXXI 5 belongs to the group of texts that mention Zukraši. This Zukraši, however, serves in Alalaḫ as witness when Ammitaqum of Alalaḫ sets up his will before Yarim-Lim, king of Yamḫad (AT 6 27). This means plainly Yarim-Lim III. Therefore, Yarim-Lim of KUB XXXI 5 must likewise be the second last king, who was omitted by Albright.

The table of the kings of Ḫalab and Alalaḫ then has to look like this:[21]

I agree with Albright that the second king of Ḫalab in this list lived at the time of Ḫammurapi of Babel. We also agree, I think, that Samsu-ditana, the last of the Ḫammurapi dynasty, represents the fifth generation after his great ancestor. The Babylonian kinglist supported by the datelists show that his end came ca. 155 years after Ḫammurapi's reign drew to a close.[22] It should be also clear now that Ḫammurapi of Ḫalab

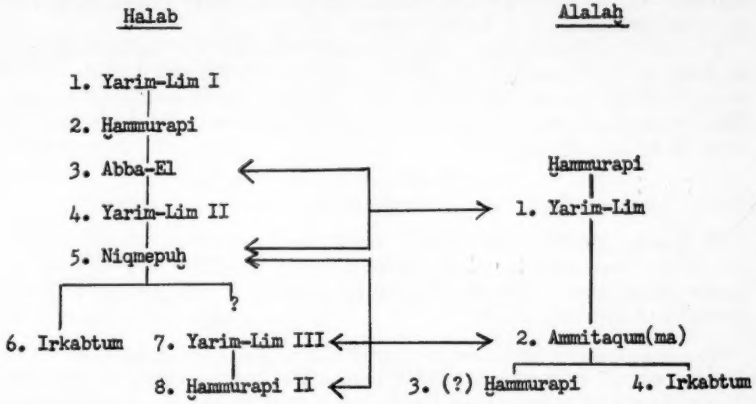
[19] Yamḫad is the name of the country of which Ḫalab is the capital; see G. Dossin, RA 37 (1939) 46-50.

[20] L. c. 28 fn. 9.

[21] The arrows mark contemporaneity.

[22] There may be an error of a few years; on this point see S. I. Feigin, JNES 14 (1955) 139 ff. For the year of Samsu-ditana in which the Hittites captured Babel cf. Albright, BASOR 127 (1952) 27.

and Irkabtum of Alalaḫ, members of the fifth generation after Ḫammurapi of Alalaḫ, are contemporaries of Samsu-ditana. Alalaḫ VII ended in a catastrophe.[23] As Landsberger has rightly remarked,[24] it cannot be separated from the catastrophe that overtook Samsu-ditana.



It is a well-documented fact that Ḫalab lost its status as the seat of a great king through the onslaught of the Hittite kings Ḫattušiliš I and Muršiliš I.[25] It is also known from Akkadian as well as from Hittite sources that it was the last-mentioned Hittite king who captured Babel.[26] It follows that Muršiliš I must likewise be coordinated with the seventh king of Ḫalab and the fourth king of Alalaḫ of the list just given.

The events enumerated at the beginning of this paper must be arranged thus:

(a) Anittaš of Kuššar, ca. 1850.

(d) Labarnaš established the Hittite Old Kingdom, ca. 1750.

(c) Campaigns in Northern Syria under Ḫattušiliš I and (his grandson?) Muršiliš I, ca. 1700-1670.

(b) Ḫammurapi of Ḫalab and Samsu-ditana of Babel defeated by Muršiliš I of Ḫatti, ca. 1650.

The date for the end of Alalaḫ VII at which Albright arrives, namely "ca. 1640," is based on archaeological reasoning.[27] I conclude that it

[23] L. Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom* (1953) 80 ff.

[24] JCS 8 (1954) 53.

[25] The key passages need not be repeated here; they can be found in Landsberger's article, 53 fn. 89.

[26] See Landsberger (and Güterbock), JCS 8 (1954) 64.

[27] It was anticipated by Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology* (1940) 3 ff. with identical conclusion. Also Landsberger is "ceramically minded" enough to quote L. Woolley on the pottery (p. 53). It may be remarked in passing that Albright does not tell us how he reconciles a date as late as 1550-1450 for Alalaḫ VI with his date for Idrimi, the key figure of Alalaḫ IV, ca. 1490 (BASOR 118 19).

should now be clear to all that the Hittite domination over Syria and the fall of Samsu-ditana must be fixed to about this time. The date can be no surprise to me; it is precisely the date that I have maintained ever since the Mari texts enforced a revision of the chronology previously current. At the same time, it should settle the troublesome question as to when Ḫammurapi of Babel reigned.

The final decision is up to the historian. He must be "tablet-minded" as well as "ceramically minded," or—as I would prefer to put it—he must combine the archaeological and the philological evidence as well. Only when monuments and documents agree with each other, can we hope to be on safe ground.

Addendum

Professor Albright has kindly made the typescript of his article, "Further Observations on the Chronology of Alalakh," available to me before publication. Thereby he enables me to attach some additional remarks to my own article.

(1) AT 1 offers no proof, in my opinion, that Yarim-Lim of Alalaḫ was a brother of Abba-El of Yamḫad. The text suggests to me that Yarim-Lim had once owned Irridi, had lost it to the rebelling brothers of Abba-El, and was given Alalaḫ instead in exchange (*pūḫtum*).

(2) It seems useful to point out the various steps that lead to the reconstruction of the dynasty of Yamḫad:

(a) It is agreed that, in Alalaḫ, we deal with three generations: Yarim-Lim—Ammitaqum(ma)—Irkabtum.

(b) One of Ammitaqum's contemporaries in Yamḫad is Irkabtum: AT 54.[1] He recurs in the date of AT 58. This tablet is linked by two of its witnesses to AT 96 which bears a date of Niqmepa of Yamḫad; there the first witness is Irkabtum, son of the king, i.e. Niqmepa. Confirmation comes from the seal AT 443a.[2] It follows that Niqmepa was king of Yamḫad before Irkabtum; he parallels an earlier phase of Ammitaqum's reign. The synchronism is further documented by AT 7, (8,) and 55.

(c) Niqmepa's (Niqmepuḫ's) father is Yarim-Lim of Yamḫad: AT seal c. Since Niqmepa is a contemporary not only of Ammitaqum, but also of Yarim-Lim of Alalaḫ (AT 52), and the latter was the first king of Alalaḫ, Yarim-Lim of Yamḫad—against Albright!—must be placed considerably before Ammitaqum.

(d) A Yarim-Lim ascended the throne of Yamḫad during the lifetime of Ammitaqum: AT 27, 61. Hence we must assume—again in opposition to Albright—three rulers of that name over Yamḫad.

[1] See Sidney Smith, *Anatolian Studies* 6 (1956) 40 fn. 6.

[2] As restored by D. J. Wiseman, *Alalakh Tablets* p. 113 confirmed by Sidney Smith, l. c.

(e) Ḫammurapi of Yamḫad, who likewise began his reign while Ammitaqum was alive (AT 21, 22), then, must be the son of this younger Yarim-Lim.

In the scheme, thus fully maintained as given above, Niqmepa belongs to the middle of the span covered, not to the end.[3]

(3) When appraising the dates proposed for the destruction of the Alalaḫ palace—Albright ca. 1630, Goetze ca. 1650—we must keep in mind the margin of error inherent in either date.

My own date is arrived at by historical reasoning and depends on the following factors:

(a) The time range of Šamši-Adad of Assur.

(b) The coordination of Šamši-Adad with Ḫammurapi of Babel.

(c) The year count of Ḫammurapi and his successors, in particular that of Samsu-ditana.

There may be an error in any of these factors and together they may easily amount to ± 20 years.

Albright's date is based entirely on archaeological evidence; the absolute date depends on Egyptian chronology. The factors of uncertainty are as follows:

(a) Archaeological dating is not to specific events but to more or less extended periods. In our case dating is to Tell Beit Mirsim E/D and to Megiddo XII-X, i. e. Middle Bronze II B. All limits between phases of these continua are arbitrary.

(b) The limits set in this case are arbitrary on a second count; the limits between the compared phases of Egyptian history are conjectural themselves. We merely know that the "Second Intermediate" extends from ca. 1780-1570.

(c) It is unknown what time-lag, if any, there was between Palestine and Syria.

This all means, as far as I am concerned, that in our case archaeological dating precise to decades is not feasible.

Thus I conclude, that the two dates proposed, reduced to their real meaning, actually coincide.

[3] The argument that Niqmepaḫ should come last because he occurs most frequently, tablets tending to concentrate toward the end of any archive, does not carry conviction. The archive peters out since, apparently, Niqmepaḫ's successors had shorter reigns and generally the power of the Yamḫad kings was on the decline after Niqmepaḫ.—As regards glyptic art, I feel that its history will have to be adapted to the progress of our knowledge of political history. I notice with satisfaction the recent tendency to trace the beginnings of the various Syrian styles further back than had hitherto been thought possible. Not committed in any way to the views of H. Frankfort from whose accomplishment no opposition in detail can possibly detract, I am inclined to acknowledge the correctness of some of the modifications advocated by U. Moortgat-Correns, ZA NF 17 (1955) 88-101. For my general attitude still compare my *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrer* (1936) 144 ff.

(4) As pointed out above, there is a striking disagreement between Albright and myself in the evaluation of the Zukraši fragment from Boğazköy (Bo 29/k = KBo VII 14). Setting it apart from all other Boğazköy tablets was caused by the excavators' contention that it had been found at the bottom of the layer Büyükkale IV C *in situ*. The excavators themselves have repudiated this view. The fragment must now be judged by the internal criteria which Hittitology provides. On this basis it must be assigned to the Hittite "Old Kingdom," probably to the reign of Ḫattušiliš I and certainly after Labarnaš. (More soon in JCS 11.) Hence the end of Alalaḫ VII falls within the Hittite "Old Kingdom."

(5) The issue from which this discussion started out was the date of Ḫammurapi; it should be considered again at its end. The king of Babel, Albright and myself agreed, is contemporaneous with Ḫammurapi of Yamḫad, the father of Abba-El. This means he is separated from the end of Alalaḫ VII by three generations plus an unknown period in Alalaḫ and by five generations of kings in Yamḫad who in all likelihood represent an unbroken line. The sequence in Alalaḫ starts at a point not precisely determinable and is exceptional in view of the fact that Ammitaqum is contemporaneous with four kings of Yamḫad belonging to three successive generations. For dating purposes the evidence from Yamḫad must take precedence, the more so as the five generations of kings of Babel separating Ḫammurapi from the capture of the capital by Muršiliš I of Ḫatti run clearly parallel. On this evidence the end of Ḫammurapi falls roughly 150 years before the destruction of Alalaḫ VII.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF ALALAKH

W. F. Albright

We are greatly indebted to Professor Albrecht Goetze for his analysis and criticism of my first paper on this subject, which appeared in the Bulletin six months ago. Needless to say, his paper contains several important new points, some of which I am glad to accept while others seem less probable. As a result of careful reconsideration I shall propose a slight revision of my first chronological table of the kings of Aleppo and Alalakh in this period (the 18th-17th centuries B. C., according to my low chronology), inserting a second Ḫammurapi in the Aleppo list and a second Yarim-Lim in the Alalakh list. There is no change in the total chronological picture of these related dynasties. Thanks also to Dr. Helene Kantor's excellent stratigraphical and typological analysis of the Alalakh material in the July number of the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, which appeared last year but which I did not see until after my manuscript was in the printers' hands, it is now possible to bring our independent results together, each confirming and supplementing the other.

The following table illustrates my slightly modified position on the succession of the kings of Aleppo and Alalakh; it diverges a little farther from the reconstruction of Landsberger, which in spite of differences is basic to my understanding:

Aleppo	Alalakh
Yarim-Lim I (1740 ±)	
Ḫammurapi I (1720 ±)	
Abba-El (1700 ±)	Yarim-Lim I (1700 ±)
	Ammitaqum (1680 ±)
Yarim-Lim II (1675 ±)	
Ḫammurapi II (his son?)	
Niqmepuḫ (son of Yarim-Lim) (1650 ±)	
	(Ḫammurapi son of Ammitaqum ?)
	Yarim-Lim II (*LÚ Alalaḫ*)
	Irkabtu son of Ammitaqum (1640 ±)
	(Alalakh falls c. 1630 B. C.)

In my opinion we must adhere to Landsberger's reconstruction of the origin of the Alalakh dynasty, which is based chiefly on the first text in Wiseman's publication.[1] The tablet begins: "When his brothers rebelled against Abba-El their lord, Abba-El . . . with the help of Adad, Ḫepat and the *šukurru* . . . went to Irridi, and Abba-El [atta]cked [1a] and captured Irridi." The text continues: [2] (5) *i-na* [*ū*]*mi*^{mi}-*šu* ^{m}[*Ab-b*]*a-AN a-na pu-ḫa-at* (6) *āl Ir-ri-di*^{KI} [*ā*]*l A-la-*[*la-aḫ*] [3] *id-di-na-am* (7) *i-na na-ra-am li-ib-bi-šu āl A-la-la-aḫ*^{KI} (8) [*i*]*d-di-nam* (*!*) [4] [*i*]*-na ūmi*^{mi}*-šu* ^{m}*Ia-ri-im-li-im* (9) *mā*[*r* ^{m}*Ḫa-am-mu-*] *ra-pí warad* ^{m}*Ab-ba-AN* . . . =

[1] Sidney Smith's study of the Alalakh data in *Anatolian Studies*, VI, 1956, pp. 38 ff., contains some acute observations, but telescopes the material even more than I do (from the standpoint of Landsberger and Goetze), dating too much of it in the time of Hammurapi of Babylon.

[1a] Read probably [*it-ta-ṣ*]*a-ab-*^{r}*ma*^{1}, instead of [*ù ṣ*]*a-ab-*^{r}*šu*^{1}, "and his army," which creates serious linguistic difficulties. Note that *ittaṣab* occurs three times in Amarna with the same meaning as Heb. *hityaṣṣeb* (*YṢB* is in metaplastic relation to *NṢB* in Hebrew); note also that the latter is sometimes used of hostile action.

[2] D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London, 1953), Plate 1 and pp. 25 f. The obverse of the tablet " is cracked and twisted "; cf. Sidney Smith, *Anatolian Studies*, VI, p. 38, n. 4. The tongue of tablet surface in the middle of the obverse, lines 5-9, must be pushed over between one and two characters more to the left, besides being pushed down. Completion of the text then becomes much easier.

[3] That the text must be completed in this way becomes obvious in the light of the fact pointed out in n. 2.

[4] The [*id*]*-di-en* of the *editio princeps* would be very strange in a text of the early 17th century (low chronology), but since *EN* is simply the left half of the sign *NAM*, it is not necessary. While this scribe usually limits himself to simple syllables, he writes *bat* (twice) and *lik* (once).

"At that time Abba-El gave Alalakh in exchange for Irridi, of his own free will he gave Alalakh; at that time Iarim-Lim son of Ḫammurapi (and) servant of Abba-El (10) he (Abba-El) brought up to the temple of Ishtar (11) [ ] of Abba-El who [caused] Yarim-Lim to (12) [ ] a city in exchange for a city. (13) [ ] whoever changes the action (*awatu*) which Abba-El has taken (*īpušu*) and injures Yarim-Lim and his posterity (*pirḫu*), may Adad crush him with the weapon in his hand . . ." It seems clear that Yarim-Lim was a brother (presumably uterine) who supported Abba-El against their rebel brothers. In return he was given the town of Alalakh in exchange for Irridi, which had apprently been promised him. Yarim-Lim and his dynasty were assured of their future right to rule over Alalakh.

On the other hand, I am convinced by Goetze's arguments that the Yarim-Lim and Ḫammurapi of KUB XXXI, 5 were not the kings of Aleppo by these names who are mentioned in the Mari archives, as I have been maintaining, but were contemporary with Ammitaqum, as held by Goetze. Some scholars insist that the date formula in Alalakh, No. 6 (the Will of Ammitaqum), lines 36-38, must belong to the Mari period because of the mention of Ashnunna in northeastern Babylonia as an independent state. Unfortunately, this interpretation of the formula in question is almost certainly wrong, since the spelling *aš-[nu]n-na*^{KI} offered by Wiseman is very unlikely in view of the fact that the name of the town (when spelled with initial *a*) always begins with *áš*, not *aš*, in hundreds of Old Babylonian references.[5] Wiseman's autography begins with a clear *QA* and closes with *NA*; the traces of the intervening sign closely resemble *DA* in line 34, so we must probably read *Qa-ṭa-na*^{KI} in keeping with spellings of the Mari period listed by Dossin.[6] Qaṭana (later Qaṭna), now el-Mishrifeh northeast of Ḥums, was the most important Syrian city and state south of Aleppo, so its mention is natural. The entire date formula then runs: *MU Ia-ri-im-li-im LUGAL-E da-wi-de-⌜e⌝ LÚ Qa-⌜ṭa⌝-na*^{KI} *i-du-ku*, "the year Yarim-Lim, the king, slew the commander(s) of the prince of Qaṭana." This must be Yarim-Lim II, known from a seal (Wiseman, No. 444a) to have been the son of Abba-El and therefore cousin of Ammitaqum. The Ḫammurapi who is mentioned in Wiseman, Nos. 21 and 22, as ascending the throne as Ammitaqum's suzerain, is therefore probably the successor (presumably the son) of Yarim-Lim II. Then came Yarim-Lim's (younger?) son Niqmepuḫ, who appears much more frequently in the Alalakh inscriptions than all other kings of Aleppo together; he is thus clearly the last known king of the dynasty, since tablets tend to concentrate toward the end of any archive and especially of any stratified deposit. Below we shall see from glyptic evidence that Niqmepuḫ was the latest king of this Aleppo group.

Turning to Alalakh and its princes, we note that Wiseman, Nos. 7, 8,

[5] For the writings of this name see the elaborate list prepared by Th. Jacobsen, *Philological Notes on Eshnunna and Its Inscriptions* (Chicago, 1934), pp. 1-19.

[6] See his paper "Iamḫad et Qatanum" (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, 36), p. 53.

and 55 establish the fact that Ammitaqum was still in office after the accession of Niqmepuḫ. Then must have come Yarim-Lim (II) of Alalakh, whose contemporaneity with Niqmepuḫ is established by Wiseman, Nos. 9, 11, and 52. Finally came Irkabtum, whose name appears almost as often as that of Ammitaqum, despite his much shorter reign.

There can thus be no reasonable doubt that Goetze and I were correct in allowing only three generations for the dynasty of Alalakh, beginning with Yarim-Lim, against Landsberger's five generations.[7] This is entirely in accord with Sir Leonard Woolley's insistence on the fact that the palace of Yarim-Lim at Alalakh shows no traces of repair, though it was built mainly of mud brick in a region with relatively heavy rainfall.[8] Whatever Woolley's well-known weaknesses in pottery chronology may be, there can be no doubt that he is one of the keenest and most experienced living excavators; his judgment in such a case as this should be treated with the utmost respect.

Turning to glyptic art, we note that all datable seal impressions in early Syro-Egyptian style from Alalakh belong to the time of Niqmepuḫ, last king of Aleppo. This applies particularly to Woolley's Nos. 12A right (= No. 145), with egyptianizing headdress and *'ankh*, 12A left (columns of superimposed *'ankh* signs). No. 9 = 150, with *'ankh* column and "fur-lined" robes of typical 1650-1550 type,[9] and Nos. 14, 146 are also egyptianizing.[10] This whole group is certainly later than the interesting group of Western seals of mainly Syrian provenience, discussed by Briggs Buchanan at the Princeton meeting of the American Oriental Society (April, 1957) and dated by him approximately between Sin-muballit and Samsu-iluna (i. e., between cir. 1750 and 1650 according to my chronology).

[7] However, Goetze agrees with Landsberger in allowing six or seven generations for the contemporary dynasty of Aleppo, though by shifting synchronisms down by a reign he allows only three generations for the kings of Alalakh beginning with Yarim-Lim. I do not see how this shift can be squared with Wiseman, No. 1.

[8] Woolley, *Alalakh*, p. 91, says: "The temple shows no sign of remodelling; in the palace there are a few changes and additions, but they are no more than a new ruler might be expected to make . . . ; the archaeological evidence favours a short rather than a long *floruit* for the palace, and therefore for the Level as a whole . . . in any case we can say that our archaeological Level VII corresponds to an historical level strictly limited to three human generations."—While on the subject of the stratification of Alalakh, it may be observed that Goetze's objection (n. 27) to my date between cir. 1550 and 1450 for Alalakh VI [also for Alalakh V, because of the presence of bichrome ware of Megiddo IX, etc.] on account of my own date for Idrimi before 1450, overlooks two points: (1) the statue of Idrimi was not found in IV but in I, with a context several centuries later; (2) Idrimi may have flourished in the time of Stratum V, since no tablets from his reign were found in IV.

[9] For the fullest discussion of Syrian statuettes of this type (which might now be considerably extended) see C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* (Paris, 1939), pp. 126-143. These statuettes were found with typical Egyptian scarabs of the Hyksos period, characteristic of Tell Beit Mirsim E-D and Megiddo XII-X, all to be dated between cir. 1650 and cir. 1550 B. C., as well as with pottery of the same period. Much more evidence pointing in the same chronological direction has subsequently become known.

[10] See also Helene Kantor, in the study mentioned in note 11.

In 1956 Helene Kantor published an incisive analysis of the seals and pottery of Alalakh VII, agreeing completely with my later (but independent) observations in BULLETIN, No. 144, p. 27.[11] Neither of us mentioned the alabastra published by Woolley on pp. 295 f. and plates LXXX-LXXXII, Nos. 10-11, 13, 15-16, of his book, which are also typical of Tell Beit Mirsim E-D and Megiddo XII-X. However, Miss Kantor followed Landsberger's assumption that the dynasty of Alalakh was contemporary with five generations of "great kings" of Aleppo, synchronized by Landsberger with the kings of Babylon from Samsu-iluna to Samsu-ditana. Since she obviously could not date these kings from cir. 1700 back to cir. 1850 with Landsberger,[12] or from cir. 1650 back to 1800 with Goetze without completely upsetting our chronology of the Syrian Middle Bronze based on Egyptian synchronisms, she followed Sidney Smith's dates, and placed Alalakh VII between 1600 and 1750. However, in following Landsberger's reconstruction of the Aleppo and Alalakh dynasties, Miss Kantor had to date Niqmepuḫ in the middle of this period, instead of toward the end, as I have pointed out above. This is archaeologically difficult if not impossible, since the phase in question cannot be dated before the middle of the 17th century or after the middle of the 16th, as I have shown repeatedly in analyzing the relevant material from Palestine and Syria.[13]

To sum up, the palace of Yarim-Lim at Alalakh was occupied not more than three generations in the 17th century B. C., and most of its contents date from between cir. 1680 and cir. 1630 B. C., a period of about fifty years. The egyptianizing glyptic, as well as most of the pottery and alabastra, belongs roughly to the period 1650-1630, just before the destruction of the city represented by Stratum VII. Since this is at the very beginning of the possible scope of about a century (cir. 1650-1550 B. C.) within which the archaeological content of the last years of Alalakh VII must fall according to our Egypto-Palestinian evidence, it is clear that the accession of Yarim-Lim I of Alalakh cannot be dated before cir. 1700 in any case.

Landsberger has pointed out that the person whose name and titles appear as *Zu-uk-ra-ši UGULA AGA UŠ E NE* in the Old Hittite text 29/k + 530/f from Boğazköy also appears with the same name in the same spelling and with the same title in Wiseman, No. 6, from the time of Yarim-Lim II of Aleppo and Ammitaqum of Alalakh; in both texts he is a high officer of the king of Aleppo! This means that the events referred to in this Hittite text must have occurred not far from 1670 B. C., according to the low chronology, i. e., not only before Labarnas but also probably before the latter's grandfather Tudḫaliyas I, who is at present the earliest known Hittite king in direct line of ancestry.[14]

[11] *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 1956, n. 22 (pp. 158-160).

[12] *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, VIII (1954), p. 120.

[13] See especially my discussions of the date of E_3 (from which practically all published material of E comes) and D in *Annuals of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Vols. XII, XIII, XVII (1932-37). Subsequent finds have confirmed these earlier treatments of the material.

[14] *In Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 86 (1953), p. 63, H. Otten

We have, therefore, a hitherto unknown (?) Hittite king, whose war with Aleppo is described in 29/k. On the side of the prince of Aleppo is first mentioned *Za-a-lu-ti* (variant *Za-a-lu-di*) *GAL Umman-ma-an-da*,[15] together with the Zukrashi whom we have already mentioned. As soon as I saw the study by Otten I suspected that we have before us the earliest occurrence of the Ummān-Manda in historical contest; since then this fact has become certain. Since the hordes in question were in later times Indo-Iranian, I turned to my colleague, Dr. P. E. Dumont, pointing out that Hittite *Z* was often an affricative *ts* or *dz*, and that the writing "consonant plus *a-a*" in cuneiform often stands for "consonant plus *aya*" (e.g., ^{d}*Na-na-a*, pronounced *Nanaya*). Dumont at once identified the first element with Sanskrit *jăyă*, "victory," which appears as the first element in a great many Sanskrit personal names; the second element is more doubtful, though there are several possibilities.[16] More remote, though by no means impossible, is an identification of this powerful chieftain with the founder of the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty, Salitis. Phonetically we have such parallels as the place-name which appears in the Amarna Tablets as *Zilū*, Egyptian *Či-ru* (Egyptian has no written *L*), became *Silē*, *Sellē* in Graeco-Roman times,[17] and accented Egyptian *ū* became *ē* or even *ī* in the Iron Age. There is thus neither chronological[18] nor phonetic difficulty in this identification, but it must obviously await the discovery of more evi-

expresses himself clearly in favor of a date before the reign of Hattusilis I. The stratigraphic evidence is somewhat ambiguous, as I was assured by members of the Boğazköy staff. In any event, Hittite dynastic history did not start with Labarnas, and even he did not reside at Boğazköy. It is true that there is some difference of opinion as to the exact relationship between him and his immediate predecessors. The usual view is that Labarnas was son of Pušarma (*Pu-LUGAL-ma*) who is called "son of Tudḫaliyas" in a well-known list of royal funerary offerings. The latter is fixed to this period by the context, especially by the mention of Pawaḫtelmah, otherwise known to have contested the Hittite throne with Labarnas. On these questions see especially E. O. Forrer, *Geschichtliche Texte aus dem alten Chatti-Reich* (WVDOG, Vol. 42, 1, Leipzig, 1926), pp. 21 ff., and F. Sommer-A. Falkenstein, *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Ḫattusili I. (Labarna II.)*, *Abh. Bay. Akad. Wiss., N. F., Heft 16* (1938), especially pp. 162 ff., 200.

[15] See Otten's photograph, *ibid.*, p. 60, lines 14, 17. The writing *ERIM^{pl} Ma-an-da* was certainly pronounced *Ummān-Manda* in later times, as we know from the writing *um-man* in inscriptions of Nabonidus and Cyrus; it seems very unlikely that this tradition is not original. The meaning, "*manda* warriors," is the same. In Vol. IV of C. F. A. Schaeffer's *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*, entitled *Textes accadiens des archives sud*, by J. Nougayrol, No. 17.286 (p. 180), we have a very interesting new reference to the Ummān-Manda (*ERIM^{pl} Man-dá^{ME}*) as playing a political role in Syria during the middle decades of the 13th century B. C.

[16] For Dumont's previous studies see JAOS 67, 251 ff., and R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram-naharaim* (Rome, 1948), pp. 149-155. For the next oldest reference to chieftains with Indo-Aryan names see our study in BULLETIN, No. 78 (1940), pp. 30 f. There I have pointed out that Babylonian tradition mentions the defeat of the Ummān-Manda by Ammiṣaduqa of Babylon in the 16th or 17th year of his reign (about 1568-66 B. C., according to the low chronology).

[17] See my discussion, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 10 (1924), pp. 6 ff.

[18] For the approximate date of the conquest of Egypt by Salitis see BULLETIN, No. 99 (1945), pp. 16 f.; I have been for some time lowering the date from 1690—

dence before it can be appraised from the historical point of view.[19] Meanwhile one is justified in considering the group of early Hittite historical texts, including the Urshu (Ursu) narrative, with more than a little interest, since it is eventually bound to throw much light on the obscure 17th century in the ancient East.

Addendum

Thanks to Professor Goetze's promptness, I am able to offer a number of comments on his "Addendum" (the expression is mine), numbered according to his remarks.

1. Since *Yarim-Lim* is "Amorite" and was a dynastic name of the Aleppo house, it would be strange to find it borne by a prince of a Hurrian city in the basin of the upper Khābûr river (as we know from the fact that Irridi or Irrite is mentioned with Waššukkani, probably modern Fekherîyeh near Gozan, in both the Hittite and Assyrian lists of the chief towns of Mitanni in the 14th-13th centuries B. C.). The context implies that Abba-El of Aleppo had conquered Irridi (after Ḫammurapi of Babylon had destroyed the buffer kingdom of Mari) and had given it to his brother Yarim-Lim to rule as his vassal.

[Since I wrote the above, Goetze has kindly called my attention to his discussion of the location of Irrita and Waššukkana (so spelled in cuneiform Hittite) between Carchemish and Harran in the extreme west of northern Mesopotamia (*Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, 1940, pp. 44-48). However, in my unpublished notes on this text over fifteen years ago, I held that it dealt with Mitannian refugees from the Assyrian armies of the thirteenth century B. C., who were being settled in friendly Hurrian territory by the last Arnuwandas.—In support of the geographical order Carchemish-Irrite-Harran-Waššukkani Goetze also cites the accounts of the invasion of Mitanni by Suppiluliumas (translations in E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* [1923], pp. 44 ff.; H. G. Güterbock, *Jour. Cun. Stud.*, X, 113 f., etc.), but they seem to me still indecisive, though a stronger argument than the preceding.]

---

to about 1680—. Needless to say, we cannot as yet expect precision in such matters, and I am not insisting on the date 1728 for the accession of Hammurapi, though it cannot be more than a decade or two off, in my opinion.

[19] We must remember that during the past fifty years many scholars have proposed the identification of the Hyksos with the Indo-Aryans. For obvious reasons, it was generally recognized that the Indo-Aryans can at best only have been represented by dominant elements, or during part of the entire "Hyksos" period (between cir. 1720 and 1550 B. C.). Among those who have held such views was no less a historian than Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II², 2, p. 42 (1928). I have often expressed cautious adherence to this idea, though freely admitting that there was no concrete evidence from personal names and that the Indo-Aryans were at best few in number, coming into Egypt well after the beginning of the Hyksos occupation. The Amarna tablets prove that the ruling dynasties of many Syro-Palestinian cities were of Indo-Aryan origin, as established by their personal names; the Taanach tablets show that this situation was already the same during the middle decades of the 15th century. Since the Mari documents and the Egyptian lists of the 19th-18th centuries contain no Indo-Aryan names, we are forced to the conclusion that there was some kind of an Indo-Aryan irruption during the 17th or early 16th century B. C., and the destructive invasion of Egypt under Salitis offers the best known historical occasion.

2. There can be little doubt that both of our latest efforts to reconstruct the two dynasties of Aleppo and Alalakh will be found wanting, since the close resemblance of names in both houses and the tendency to attribute kingship increasingly to the princes of Alalakh give rise to inescapable confusion. However, I am not yet ready to separate Goetze's sixth king of Aleppo from the homonymous fourth king of Alalakh in his table, though I cannot explain the seeming anomaly in AT 54. Otherwise all the sychronisms fit into my scheme at least as well as they do into Goetze's, while the data derived from archival and archaeological considerations fit much better. It would, for instance, be exceedingly hard to explain why there are so few indications of archival activity after the reign of Niqmepuḫ of Aleppo. Moreover, we just do not have enough generations at Alalakh to fill the gap between the end of the Mari period and the fall of Babylon I—which was approximately 165 years (cir. 1695-1530 in my system) according to all scholars. Even if we allow four generations, as Goetze now does, the interval is still so long as to be highly improbable.

3. There is no formal disagreement between Goetze and me on the points he raises here—except that the chronology of the Second Intermediate Period in Egypt is much better known than he intimates. There is an uncertainty of a decade or two throughout the period from cir. 1750 to cir. 1550, recognizing that the Hyksos period came to an end within the first twenty years of Amosis (1570-1545 B. C.). But I cannot admit that the egyptianizing type of seals characteristic of the time of Niqmepuḫ is to be dated two or three generations before cir 1650 B. C., even though the southern types of pottery and alabastra from the end of Alalakh VII might *conceivably* be dated during the decade or two before 1650.

4. I insist again that the Ursu story and related narratives may just as well reflect events before Labarnas as shortly after his reign. Thanks to the recent finds of Tahsin Özgüç and Kemal Balkan in Kültepe Ib and especially in the adjacent acropolis (Karahüyük), we know that there were powerful rulers in Cappadocia during the 18th century B. C. (low chronology), such as Inar and his son Warshama, Pitḫana [1] and his son Anitta, who controlled most of the central plateau of Anatolia and were in constant touch with princes east and south of the Taurus. Since the last two appear not only in their own inscriptions from Kanesh (Karahüyük) but also figure in the Hittite historical tradition preserved in the Boğazköy archives, I see absolutely no cogent reason for placing the "Zukraši" and related fragments after Labarnas rather than before him. The earlier date has been preferred by H. Otten, the Hittite specialist of the Boğazköy expedition, as I pointed out above.

[1] In the description of the boundary between Ugarit and the Plain of Antioch (Mukish) given in the treaty between Mursilis II and Niqmepa of Ugarit (14th century), we have a point called (*ḪUR.SAG$^{HI.A}$*) *ḫarrānāti^{pl} ša ^{m}Pí-it-ḫa-na*, "Mountain (called) Roads of Pitḫana" (Nougayrol, in Schaeffer, *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*, IV, 17.62, line 7'). This certainly proves that Pitḫana's penetration into Syria was still remembered after four centuries.

5. As will appear from what I have written above, my views remain the same as before. However, even though Professor Goetze and I continue to hold our previous positions, this discussion has clarified numerous points and seems to me decidedly worth while.

RECENT BOOKS ON ASSYRIOLOGY AND RELATED SUBJECTS

Books by Our Officers and Collaborators.

The most recent volume of our *Annual* is devoted to **Albrecht Goetze's** admirable presentation of *The Laws of Eshnunna* (*Annual of the A.S.O.R.*, XXXI, 1956, x + 197 pp. + 4 plates, $4.00). Beautifully and accurately reproduced by photo-offset in the new larger format of the *Annual*, this is in every way an excellent publication. Since these laws are in Semitic Accadian and are earlier than the famous Code of Hammurapi, they have attracted wide interest—not reduced by the fact that we find some of our closest parallels to Mosaic legislation outside of the Pentateuch among the new laws. Goetze's detailed philological and juristic commentary makes the volume invaluable to scholars in many different fields.

The latest publication of the joint expedition of Harvard University and the School at Baghdad has appeared as Vol. XV of the *Harvard Semitic Series*: **Ernest R. Lacheman's** *Excavations at Nuzi*, VI, *The Administrative Archives* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1955, xv pages and 177 plates in a neat cardboard box, $7.50). In view of the steadily mounting costs of printing and engraving, this volume was wisely reproduced by multilith at Wellesley College. It contains 335 texts, mostly published here for the first time; their importance for our knowledge of the material culture of the 15th century B.C. is well known to all who have utilized the survey of their contents published by Lacheman in *Nuzi*, Vol. I, pp. 528-544. Professor Lacheman deserves our hearty thanks for the tenacity with which he has pursued the arduous but important task of publishing the Nuzi documents, whose priceless value for biblical studies is known to all.

To the chairman of the Committee on the Baghdad School, **Samuel N. Kramer**, we are indebted for a most interesting and informative book on Sumerian civilization: *From the Tablets of Sumer—Twenty-five Firsts in Man's Recorded History* (The Falcon's Wing Press, Indian Hills, Colorado, 1956, xxv + 293 pp. with many plates and cuts in the text, $5.00). Kramer draws on his unrivaled knowledge of Sumerian literature, largely still unpublished, for a fascinating survey of selected subjects taken from the vast storehouse of tablets written in the oldest "dead" language of history. Readers will find that Sumerian provides our best known source of information for the emergence of higher culture from primitive ways of thinking.

Publication of the Results of Recent Excavations.

Of unusual interest and importance is the first volume of the final publication of **André Parrot's** epoch-making work at Mari on the Middle Euphrates: *Mission archéologique de Mari*, I, *Le temple d'Ishtar* (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, BAH LXV, Paris, Geuthner, 1956, viii + 247 quarto pp. and 73 plates, with 110 figures in the text, 5,000 francs). The lowest three levels carry us back to late Jemdet Naṣr and the earliest "Dynastic"; they are followed by three successive levels of the Ishtar Temple occupied chiefly in Early Dynastic III (and probably also in the time of the Accad Dynasty), and finally by scanty remains of a temple from the 19th-18th centuries B.C. (low chronology). Most interesting are the remains of Early Dynastic IIIA, which include three very archaic statues of King *LAM.GI-Mari*, *Ebiḫ-Il*, and *Idī-Id* (or *Idī-Nārum*), all from about the middle of the third millennium, with by far the earliest known Semitic inscriptions.

Vol. IV of **Sir Leonard Woolley's** *Ur Excavations* is devoted to *The Early Periods* (Philadelphia, The University Museum, 1955 [on cover 1956], vii + 225 quarto pp. with 83 plates and folding charts). Here we have the long awaited final publication of the levels preceding the Third Dynasty of Ur which were uncovered in the course of the joint expedition of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania Museum. Well and economically reproduced by photo-offset, it provides stratigraphi-

cal evidence confirming, supplementing, and correcting Sir Leonard's previous publications. Unfortunately he still adheres to his exaggerated chronology, and he still insists that the extensive 3-metre bed of clean alluvium which interrupts the stratigraphical development of the 'Ubaid (Obeidian) Period reflects the Flood of Utnapishtim and Noah. Since it brought no change of culture, most archaeologists consider it as a deposit laid down by a river flood which was higher than ordinary, somewhere about the 35th century B. C. or even later.

Three publications of **Claude F. A. Schaeffer** provide an inexhaustible mine of new data from his excavations for students of ancient history, particularly of Syria and Anatolia; biblical scholars will also gain immensely from the new documents. Vol. VIII of the *Mission de Ras Shamra* contains *Ugaritica III* (Paris, Geuthner, 1956, xi + 303 quarto pp. + 10 plates, with 239 figures in the text, 4,000 francs); it is devoted to a study of the Hittite seal cylinder impressions from the diplomatic correspondence, the bronze sword of Pharaoh Marniptaḥ, Cypro-Minoan tablets, and other novelties from recent excavations. The value of the new material for the historian, student of ancient art, and hittitologist is equally great. Vol. IX of the same series is bound in two volumes; it bears the second title *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*, IV (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1956, viii + 301 quarto pp. + 90 plates), and a third title, *Textes accadiens des archives sud (archives internationales)*, by **Jean Nougayrol.** From the wealth of new material, mostly in good state of preservation, one is tempted to quote *in extenso*, especially since the author's treatment of his cuneiform texts is throughout admirable. We limit ourselves to two small items which he has overlooked (*quandoque nutat Homerus*). The pronunciation of the name of the consort of the chief god of Ugarit, biblical Baal-zephon, has hitherto been unknown, but there can be no doubt that we must read *Pi-id-ra-i* (not *Bi-it-ra-i*) for the name following Baal[-zephon] in No. 17. 116, line 3′. This name has conventionally been read *Piddiriya*, but C. H. Gordon was evidently right years ago when he compared the biblical name *Sarai* (Sarah) with the names of the three daughters of Baal. For *Pidrai* as consort of Baal-zephon see reviewer's remarks in *Festschrift für Alfred Bertholet*, pp. 9-11. Another new point is in No. 19. 55, where the word *manaḫātu* is scarcely the plural of Accadian *mānaḫtu*, "toil," but is rather the plural of the noun which appears as *minḫah*, "gift, offering," in Hebrew, *m(a)nḥītu* as a loanword in New Egyptian with the same meaning, and *mnḥ*, probably with the same sense, in Ugaritic (from the secondary derivative *mnḥ*, "to give, bestow," found also in Arabic). With this meaning the text acquires new importance for the practices governing relations between reigning princes in Syria during the thirteenth century B. C.

O. R. Gurney and **J. J. Finkelstein** are continuing the publication of the temple library of the Assyrian period (seventh century B. C.) found at Sultantepe near Harran in 1951-52: *The Sultantepe Tablets* (London, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1957, vi + 13 quarto pp. + 142 plates, 35 shillings). The copies are splendid and reproductions leave nothing to be desired; the contents include texts ranging from nearly complete tablets to mere fragments of the Creation Epic, Gilgamesh, the Erra Epic, the Zu Epic, the Righteous Sufferer (sometimes called the "Babylonian Job"), and miscellaneous literary, religious, and historical texts of all kinds. This represents an invaluable addition to our store of cuneiform literature.

Books on Cuneiform Lexicography.

As announced in the BULLETIN, No. 141, p. 27, the eagerly awaited Chicago Dictionary has at last begun to appear, with two volumes (*A* and *G*) issued last year: *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, The Oriental Institute, 1956, xiii + 266 and xiii + 158 pp., price of *A* volume $10.00). Carried to successful completion by the organizing drive of **A. Leo Oppenheim,** with the aid of the other members of the editorial board, **I. J. Gelb, Thorkild Jacobsen,** and the incomparable **Benno Landsberger,** the two first volumes are beautifully and accurately printed by the experienced firm of J. J. Augustin. The remaining volumes are expected to appear at the rate of one or two a year until the *Assyrian Dictionary* is finished. Needless to say, it will be of extraordinary value to all students of the human past; every serious student of antiquity should insist on having a copy easily available. We congratulate the editors and the director of the Oriental Institute, **Carl H. Kraeling** (for five years president of the A. S. O. R.), for the vision and enthusiasm which they have put into this tremendous project.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

Founded 1900, incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia, 1921.

TRUSTEES

H. DUNSCOMBE COLT, JR., *Esq.*, New York City	Term 1955-57
CARL H. KRAELING, *Director*, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago	"
OLIVER C. REYNOLDS, *Lawyer*, New York City	"
JOHN A. WILSON, *Professor*, University of Chicago	"
WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT, *Professor*, Johns Hopkins University	Term 1956-58
† LOUIS M. RABINOWITZ, *Esq.*, New York City	
DONALD SCOTT, *Director Emeritus*, Peabody Museum, Harvard University	"
CHARLES K. WILKINSON, *Curator*, Metropolitan Museum	"
A. HENRY DETWEILER, *Professor*, Cornell University	Term 1957-59
NELSON GLUECK, *President*, Hebrew Union College	"
THOMAS W. PHELPS, *Corporation Executive*, New York City	"
JOHN W. WARRINGTON, *Lawyer*, Cincinnati	"

FRANK E. BROWN, *Professor*, Yale University (for the Archaeological Institute of America)
HERBERT G. MAY, *Professor*, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology (for the American Oriental Society)
G. ERNEST WRIGHT, *Professor*, McCormick Theological Seminary (for the Society of Biblical Literature)

ASSOCIATE TRUSTEES

BERNHARD W. ANDERSON, *Dean*, Drew Theological Seminary	Term 1956-57
GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN, *Professor*, Harvard University	"
ARTHUR JEFFERY, *Professor*, Columbia University	"
FREDERICK W. WHITTAKER, *President*, Bangor Theological Seminary	"
H. L. GINSBERG, *Professor*, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America	Term 1957-58
PATRICK W. SKEHAN, *Professor*, Catholic University of America	"
FRED V. WINNETT, *Professor*, University of Toronto	"

OFFICERS

President, A. HENRY DETWEILER, Franklin Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
First Vice-President, W. F. ALBRIGHT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Md.
Second Vice-President, E. A. SPEISER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.
Secretary, FRANK E. BROWN, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Assistant Secretary, WILLIAM L. REED, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky.
Treasurer, JOHN W. WARRINGTON, Union Trust Building, Cincinnati, Ohio
Assistant Treasurer, THE PROVIDENT TRUST COMPANY, Philadelphia 3, Pa.
Business Manager, New Haven Office, G. R. WALTON, Drawer 93A, Yale Station
Counsel, PEPPER, BODINE, FRICK, SHEETZ and HAMILTON, Philadelphia, Pa.

COMMITTEES

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (elected) The President, Secretary and Treasurer, *ex officio*; Messrs. Kraeling (55-57), Cameron (56-58), Albright (57-59). JERUSALEM SCHOOL COMMITTEE: Messrs. Reed (chairman), Glueck, Winnett, Muilenburg, Cross, Skehan. BAGHDAD SCHOOL COMMITTEE: Messrs. Kramer (chairman), Albright, Cameron, Goetze, Braidwood. FINANCE COMMITTEE: Messrs. Warrington (chairman), Reynolds, Scott. EDITORIAL COMMITTEE: Messrs. Albright (chairman), Goetze, Winnett, Wright.

THE SCHOOL IN JERUSALEM

PROF. ROBERT C. DENTAN, *Director*, 1956-57
PROF. H. NEIL RICHARDSON, *Annual Professor*, 1956-57
DR. DAVID C. PELLETT and DR. LAWRENCE E. TOOMBS, *Fellows*, 1956-57
DR. JAMES L. KELSO, DR. WM. H. MORTON and DR. JAMES B. PRITCHARD, *Visiting Professors*, 1956-57
DR. WILLIAM S. LASOR, *Honorary Fellow*, 1956-57

THE SCHOOL IN BAGHDAD

DR. VAUGHN CRAWFORD, *Director and Annual Professor*, 1956-57